4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

nection also, the report by Felte Bezerra (1950:266–67) of the bewilderment of several colored girls at Aracaju upon seeing a film concerned with the racial situation in the United States. Wagley is seeking to escape from some of the ambiguities involved when he uses the term "social race" (e.g., 1963b:14); and several investigators either begin by using "color" instead of "race," or shift to color in the course of research or in subsequent publications.

Moreover, as Robert E. Park (3) has pointed out in an illuminating analysis, "race relations . . . are not so much the relations that exist between individuals of different races, as between individuals *conscious* of these differences."[7] Frazier (1942:469) records that none of the colored persons he interviewed during several months residence in Bahia, in 1940, "regarded themselves as Negroes but simply as Brazilians." In the United States, "we expect all persons of color to feel a mutual bond," Ruth Landes (1947:60) reminds us; but in Bahia "no such assumption is ever dreamed of." As Gilberto Freyre (1959:144) puts it, the colored man in Brazil can "express himself as a Brazilian and not . . . as an ethnic [racial] and cultural intruder." Several of Austin J. Staley's (1959:82) Brazilian informants "thought it humorous, and genuinely so, that someone should take time out to inquire about such an obviously unimportant issue as race and race prejudice." "As far as actual behavior is concerned," Harris (1964:64) also recognizes, " 'races' do not exist for the Brazilians." In fact, solidarity along racial or even color lines is of so low an order in Bahia and Brazil that those interested in "mobilizing the colored masses" are in despair. Considering these circumstances, as Frazier (1944:255) also has observed, "one may not properly speak of race relations in Brazil" at all.

[7] Italics ours.

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SL1

In a more recent publication (1958), Blumer has emphasized this "sense of group position." Although there ordinarily are present in the minds of the members of any dominant racial group "a feeling that the subordinate race is intrinsically different and alien," and also a feeling of superiority toward the members of this subordinate race, these two feelings alone, as Blumer clearly points out, do *not* constitute race prejudice. They amount merely to ethnocentrism, a common characteristic of all groups.[9] There ordinarily is present also "a feeling of proprietary claim to certain areas of privilege and advantage"; and this feeling is usually quite strong. But even when this is added to the sense of superiority and of distinctiveness mentioned above, we do not yet have race prejudice. As Blumer (4) reminds us, these three feelings are often present in social orders "showing no prejudice"; for example, in settled and long-established relations between conquerors and conquered in certain forms of feudalism; in caste structures; and in societies of chiefs and commoners.

[9] From this point of view, common sayings regarding colored persons which are mentioned with a smile and in jocular tone (see pp. 362–65 of this book) are not necessarily evidence of race prejudice; as also are not those pejorative words or phrases which accompany them or are sometimes used alone. Survivals of a slave epoch, they are now merely verbal behavior which ordinarily is belied by conduct, as several observers have noted (e.g., Thales de Azevedo 1959:154; Wagley 1963a:140; 1963b:150; Harris 1964:60), and they often are employed by colored persons themselves in banter, even in the presence of brancos (cf. Nogueira 1955:508n). At most, these sayings and terms reflect the ethnocentrism characteristic of all groups. To see them in perspective, one should recall the extensive use in Brazil of similar terms and sayings with reference to the *Portuguese* and, in Portugal, with reference to the *Brazilians;* as well as the use in the United States of "city slicker," "country bumpkin," "flatlander," and "the great unwashed." These all are pejorative terms; and they also are ethnocentric terms, reflecting a sense of superiority and of satisfaction that "We are not as thou art."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazillans SOll
BRAZIL SLI

sex depreciated, although this situation, in more recent years and especially in the cities, is changing.

That we are not dealing with merely racial phenomena, then, is borne out by the thousands of persons scattered across the colored continuum, of at least partial and sometimes of considerable African descent, who have escaped socially (and openly) into the branco category and been accepted by brancos;[17] and that we are also dealing with a class, rather than with a color phenomenon alone, is borne out, first of all, by the fact that the discrimination[18] which all observers note—and which some think either constitutes or reflects prejudice—virtually does not exist among the *lower* class, but tends to appear only as one proceeds up the class scale.[19] In Brazil, as Bastide has pointed out with reference to São Paulo, to see a race problem among members of the lower class would be absurd. "In the poorer sections of the city," Bastide (1955:137) has written, "where the brancos live in promiscuity with blacks, any prejudice would be ridiculous." Frazier (1944:266) also recognized this absence of discrimination in the lower class; and that was our conclusion at Cruz das Almas (cf. 1951:190 ff.).

[17] If it be suggested that many light-colored persons also escape into the white group in the United States, the difference is that, in every case, this is not known to the whites; and, if it does become known later, the individual will automatically be put back into the "Negro" category, a possibility which, in Brazil, would everywhere be considered absurd, as Freyre long ago pointed out.

[18] It should of course be clear that we are using "discrimination" here only as defined above, and that we do not imply that persons in the lower class are unaware of physical differences.

[19] Although it may be possible to find an occasional branco among the lower-status groups who shows some measure of withdrawal from colored persons, and who even may speak disapprovingly of them, he will in all likelihood turn out to be a person with an ambitious desire to rise in rank, who holds similar attitudes toward all "pobres" (the lower-class poor), regardless of color (cf. Virginia Bicudo 1955:270).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOIl Bahia Brazilians SOIl
BRAZIL SLI

In fact, the great mass of lower-class brancos, mixed-bloods and prêtos share very much a common life. As Nogueira (1955:513) observed at Itapetininga, there is a "more complete fraternization between colored and brancos in the less-favored stratum." This situation is *just the reverse* of that in South Africa, or of that in the United States, where the most intense and implacable race prejudice in each country is to be found among the "poor whites." Whatever be the type of "prejudice" which those who write about "prejudice" in Brazil are dealing with, then, it is almost without exception "prejudice" in the upper and middle classes; and consequently it is more of class, rather than of strictly racial, or even of merely color, character. For, if discrimination is comparatively absent in the lower class but, as Bastide (1955: 131, 132) observed in São Paulo even with reference to immigrants, "increases as one climbs up the class scale," are we not observing a primarily class phenomenon?

That we are dealing more with class than with color, *per se*, is further borne out by the comparative lack of either race- or color-consciousness among colored persons in the lower ranks[20] and by their widespread insistence, on the contrary, that "there is no prejudice in Brazil," an attitude which puzzles (and even gives concern) to some observers. It also is borne out by the strong adverse feeling which lower-class colored sometimes direct toward other colored persons who have managed to rise in class and who, like successful newcomers to New York, tend to "forget" former friends "back

[20] Some informants at Bahia say that political agitators have attempted to foster and to exploit color antagonism as an aid in the class struggle which they hope to exacerbate (Thales de Azevedo 1955a:106); but, although this agitation has had some effect, particularly among frustrated individuals, it apparently has had little to feed upon except resentment against the world in general.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

home" (Florestan Fernandes 1955:160; Bastide 1955:163); and also by the acceptance—and use—on the part of certain individuals of dark color who have risen in rank of derogatory statements regarding colored persons, but only with reference to those in ranks *below* themselves (Bastide 1955: 163).

Much emphasis is laid by some writers upon the presence in the lower ranks of the Brazilian economic order of a large mass of underprivileged colored; and this fact repeatedly is cited as evidence of a disharmonious racial situation in Brazil, and even of race, or at least color, prejudice. It is claimed that this fact defines the racial situation. In a restricted sense, it may do so to some extent, in that it points out the economic effects coming down to today of the long "shadow of the plantation," in the expressive phrase of Charles S. Johnson;[21] but in a more inclusive sense it is only one aspect of the total situation. Moreover, it often is either assumed or left to be assumed by implication that this unequal distribution is due entirely to discrimination, hostility, and prejudice on the part of brancos. This is too simple a conclusion. It should not be forgotten that hundreds of thousands of brancos are themselves in these lower ranks. In fact, the great mass of the Brazilian population, *both colored and branco,* is still concentrated on these low economic levels, "belonging to the same class, without regard to color," as Willems has observed, "and not to two different class systems, as in the United States."

Besides, there always has been a great "gulf" between the lower and the upper classes in Brazil, a "gulf" which is extremely difficult to cross, whatever be the color of the individual. Except in recent years—and only in a few metro-

[21] *Shadow of the Plantation* (Chicago, 1934).

[113]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

confusion which may emerge in the minds of persons in the United States from a reading of hypothesis 23. This is due to the variant meanings attached in Brazil and in the United States to the term "Negro," as pointed out above. Taking into consideration this fact, and also the unfavorable economic condition of underprivileged persons in Brazil mentioned previously, we might reformulate this hypothesis in the following way: It is possible that the darker persons of color, *considered as an aggregate*, have not risen as rapidly, perhaps, as the Negroes in the United States. This may be due : (a) to fewer economic opportunities in Brazil, in comparison to those afforded by an expansion of industry much earlier in the United States; (b) to the limited educational opportunities available in Brazil until comparatively recent years and the low value long placed upon education for all except the sons of the elite; (c) to the possibility that local prêtos, feeling themselves less under the necessity of demonstrating to a skeptical white world their personal competence and their ability to achieve, have had less social incentive for advancement; and (d) to certain structural differences in the two cases, as Willems has suggested, "especially the fact that most achievements of the American Negro occurred within his own class structure, while the Brazilian colored did not have these structural incentives and opportunities."

With reference to hypothesis 24, Wagley (1963b:153) has well suggested that the absorption of the African and his descendants into the predominantly branco group (as referred to in hypothesis 1), and the process of whitening by which it is being accomplished (see pp. 120 ff.), are also part of the informal racial policy, so that "the common . . . statement that 'We Brazilians are becoming one people,' " Wagley writes, "seems to imply that Brazilians hope to become a nation more Caucasian in physical appearance."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

565 Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese
[197] vernacular, with a limited vocabulary and numerous errors
[489] in grammar. Many words of African or native Indian origin
[771] are commonly heard. Transport is primitive. Here the fe-
[794] tish cult, and the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs associated with it, gains its most zealous and faithful devotees. Here, cut off quite sharply from participation in the upper levels of European culture, live that portion of the population which the upper classes refer to as *o povo*, and who think of themselves as *os pobres* ("the poor").

The social gulf between the *pobres* of the valleys and the *ricos* of the ridges is wide and not easy to bridge. This is, of course, to be anticipated in a society with an aristocratic tradition whose upper circles still look somewhat askance upon manual labor and have always regarded education, family connection, and "good breeding" as indices of class.
[1068] Attitudes in this respect have changed little since the time
[567] when the abolitionist Anselmo da Fonseca felt it necessary to apologize for including the name of "a man of the people," a humble Negro shoemaker, among the prominent upper-class abolitionists of Bahia, arguing that "intelligence, patriotism, and truth are not the privilege of any one class" and explaining that this particular individual had been more useful to the abolition cause than many "more noble."

565 The upper classes habitually refer to members of the lower
• 186 classes as *trabalhadores* ("laborers"), *operarios* ("workers"), or *o povo baixo* ("common people") and humorously caricature them by a cartoon character known as Zé Povinho, an
[867] illiterate, stupid, and unprepossessing lout. To their children they often direct such phrases as "não seja gentinha" ("don't be like common people"), "não tenha modos de gentinha" ("don't take up the manners of common people"), "não ligue a (or *para*) povo miudo" ("don't attach yourself

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

to vulgar persons"), "não faça caso de gente baixa" ("don't mind low people"), "não dê attenção á gentinha" ("don't pay any attention to common people"), and "não se incommode com a gente baixa" ("don't trouble yourself about common people"). Of themselves, the upper classes use the rather general expressions *as altas rodas* ("the upper circles"), *grand monde*, and the "élite."

The lower classes refer to the upper classes as *os "chefões"* ("the big shots"), *os donos da gente* ("the owners of the people"), *os grandes graudos* ("the illustrious great"), *os manda-chuvas da cidade* ("the rainmakers of the city"; i.e., those who can do anything), *ricaços* ("the plutocrats"), or merely *os brancos* ("the whites").

Although this rather simple pattern in which ridges and valleys appear as contrasted residential areas is, in general, characteristic of the entire city, it is modified in a few minor instances. The upper-class suburb of Barra, for example, lies low on the seacoast, albeit well swept by the refreshing sea breeze; while the ridges (as well as the valleys) in the less accessible areas outside the main portion of the city are covered with the huts of the lower class. In the old outmoded four-to-seven-story buildings (relics of Bahia's former splendor), which hedge about the central portion of the city and lie either on top, or well up toward the top, of the central ridges, are crowded together in something approaching slum conditions hundreds of the city's poor.[12] But in general the pattern of the city conforms quite closely to that which has been described.

As one moves about the different residential areas, he

[12] For an intimate glimpse into the life of this latter area see Jorge Amado, *Suor* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936). The locale of these interesting sketches is an old building at No. 68 on the Pelourinho which fronts on the triangular *praça* where the old slave whipping-post used to stand.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

seat of the iman, or head in Brazil of all African disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Those who were resident in Rio, Ceará, and Pernambuco owed allegiance to him. Incidentally, it was a time of general social unrest not only among certain of the slaves but among the whites as well.[46] The aim of the conspiracy was "to set up a queen after exterminating all the Europeans." Extensive plans were laid, including the proposed participation of slaves from "every part of the Reconcavo," many of whom, immediately preceding the night set for the uprising, fled from their owners and came to Bahia. A banner was adopted and the robes worn at Mohammedan ceremonies selected as costumes of war. The time chosen for the uprising was during the popular festival of Nossa Senhora da Guia, when most of the European population would be gathered at Bomfim, outside the main area of the city, houses would consequently be deserted by white owners, and slaves might go in and out without arousing suspicion.[47]

The governor, forewarned by a faithful slave a few hours before the uprising actually occurred, doubled all police

[46] From 1831 to 1837 revolts against the Brazilian imperial government broke out in Pará, Sergipe, Pernambuco, and Rio Grande do Sul. In Maranhão three thousand slaves, led by an African named Cosme, had recently revolted.

[47] The report of the chief of police to the governor of the province of Bahia (republished from the *Diario da Bahia* in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio, February 10, 1835) said that the evidence indicated "the insurrection had been plotted for a considerable period of time with absolute secrecy. . . . . Almost all the leaders know how to read and to write in some unknown language, which appears to be Arabic. This is the same language which is used by the Ussás, who seem to be united today with the Nagôs. These Ussás are from the same tribe which has revolted on several occasions in this Province. . . . . Their leaders, among whom are many free and even wealthy Africans, stir up and organise revolts."

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazillans SOll

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The *Africanos* ordinarily look upon the Europeans as presumptuous and quite naturally resent all evidences of a feeling of cultural superiority. Particularly do they resent what they consider to be unfair comparisons with the Europeans, on the one hand, and with the native Indians (who are ordinarily romanticized in Brazil), on the other. Said an *Africano:*

> These people think the Indian is worth so much! Look here! Brazil has been discovered for more than four hundred years, and there isn't a single book in Tupi like this [showing the English Prayer-book printed in Nagô], or a single magazine like this [pointing to a periodical published in English in Lagos and containing several articles by Africans]. These people here call us fetish worshipers and say, "Aw, that's African nonsense!" It just goes to show that they don't know anything about what we have in Africa.

This sentiment was echoed by another *Africano*, who complained:

[212]

> These people here in Bahia think Africans are all barbarous and uncivilized. They won't believe we write our language and that books are printed in it. They say, "Why, these *Africanos*, they're just pagan fetish worshipers, ignorant, and without culture." They don't know that in Lagos there are good schools, better than they've got in Bahia. Look at this [showing a photograph of a school in Lagos]! Is there anything in Bahia as fine as that?

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It is perhaps obvious that these complaints reflect a sense of inferiority and an unconscious acceptance of European cultural standards. The case of the *Africanos* in Bahia confirms the hypothesis that the transformation of inner experience characteristic of all cases of assimilation is, to a large extent, an unwitting process which may at times go on even in direct opposition to the individual's intention and resolution. The ordinarily patient and tolerant attitude of the Ba-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians S(

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the whites, are evidences of race prejudice. The fact, however, that outside the *Africano* group, among the more or less assimilated blacks, these antagonistic attitudes tend to disappear, indicates that what we see reflected here is a cultural, and not necessarily a racial, conflict. Antagonism is directed not at the whites as such but at *Europeans;* it is directed at the bearers of a culture, a body of ideas, attitudes, and sentiments, in conflict with the ideas, attitudes, and sentiments of the *Africanos*.

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4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SL1

individuals seek to rationalize and to defend their customary conduct. This ideology is perhaps best summarized in the commonly heard phrase, "We Brazilians are becoming one people."

25. Thus, the race problem in Brazil, in so far as there is a race problem, tends to be identified with the resistance which an ethnic group offers, or is thought to offer, to absorption and assimilation.

This is not to say that there are no social distinctions in Brazil; for such are obviously common to all societies, one thing or another serving as a basis. Neither does it mean that there is no discrimination or that the blacks and mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot. But it does mean (*a*) that a man of color may, by reason of individual merit or favorable circumstance, improve his status and even achieve position in the upper levels of society and (*b*) that this position will then be with reference not merely to the darker group whose color he shares but to the total community.

[SALVADOR]

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665 666 578 829 [646] This means that Brazilians born in other States have made careers in different parties of Bahia and have been elected to represent the Bahians at the legislative assembly of the State or at the national parliament. The same candidate, moreover, had been elected governor several years earlier, before this attribute of "foreigner" exerted a decisive influence in the fight led against him.

829 577 /20/ Brazilian customs condemn all social discrimination; the Bahians, particularly those of the more advanced groups, pride themselves on these traditions of tolerance and liberalism, and consider them proper for forming the very prototype of the cordial Brazilian man whom Gobineau describes: "to be very polished, gracious, very friendly," and whose qualities are defined by a Brazilian sociologist as a mixture of kindness, tolerance, and good manners. Life in Bahia is appreciated and envied by some, criticized by others for its slow rhythm, its lack of combativeness, its strict particularism, and for the thousand mechanisms that always work in a way to mitigate the antagonisms and the conflicts between groups and individuals. The French sociologist Roger Bastide said some years ago that it is good "that in Bahia very rapid progress is not at all prejudicial to the qualities of soul that make up its charm."

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641 829 • 186 What contributes a great deal toward mitigating the tensions between the groups that confront one another in the society of Bahia is the polarization of dissatisfaction that in all of Brazil, but especially in our city, takes place concerning the idea of "government," that is to say, public authorities in general, the population having the habit of discharging on them its aggressive impulses, imputing to this very vague entity all the evils that beset Bahia.

829 * 563 As for race relations, one may state that a certain antagonism exists between Blacks and mulattoes. There are, without doubt, some color prejudices in Bahia, but, as a moreno of liberal profession says, "prejudice is not only the doing of Whites; out of fear of being assimilated with the Blacks, the mulatto avoids them and draws closer to the Whites." A number of informants think that

[SALVADOR]

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*563 441 ●[186] although these lines of demarcation have a tendency to disappear. The Jews, who have immigrated since the first world war and whom people know under the name of "Russians," are the principal owners of furniture stores and are beginning to become interested in other kinds of commerce; strictly exclusive in their firms, they do not seem to have any Brazilian associates, so that the dark employees that they have among them never occupy any but subordinate positions and never reach the top positions that would permit them to take a place in the higher strata of society.

The characteristic endogamy of the Israelites has also contributed toward restricting the chances of colored people in this [233] [472] sector. Some Jews of French origin who established themselves in the city during the second half of the last century and who turned to commerce and stock raising were entirely assimilated. Their /47/ families today include some light métis and some *563 472 256 441 morenos. The Spaniards who dominate the grocery and bakery business are grouped into firms in which only they themselves and their immediate descendants participate. In order to maintain this commercial structure, the group is constantly renewed through the immigration of young men of the same nationality, who start to work in modest positions and end up by forming new firms or being integrated in the old ones. From the time the *563 472 441 [175] [848] [428] [671] Spanish emigrants came still unmarried or left their families in Spain, they had mulatto children or morenos here by their servants, children who were born illegitimate and who had no right of inheritance (Brazilian law did not insure it to persons in their position until some years later). But for about 20 years the Spaniards have started to send for, or bring with them, their families, so that they now form a very closed group, not only from the economic point of view, but especially from the social and, so to speak, the biological point of view. An informant [256] points out that in the old days numerous bakeries were the property of Blacks; since then the Spaniards have monopolized them almost completely, that they now control this type of business entirely. The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the

[SALVADOR]

The antagonism of the /47 cont./ inhabitants of Bahia against the Spanish merchants is expressed, aside from the manifestations pointed out in another chapter, by the belief that they are responsible for the discrimination that is practiced against colored people in certain recreational clubs. In the trade of textiles and petty retail objects, such as the Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks carry on in little shops, there are no longer many openings possible for colored people. The Arab merchants accept colored employees to work at the counter in their establishments, but, since these are generally modest family enterprises, their few light descendants of mixed blood or morenos remain in the lower or intermediate strata of the population.

In the offices of large export or import firms made up in part of Europeans (Germans, English, Swiss), colored persons are admitted and may obtain positions carrying some responsibility, but they rarely reach the rank of owners. The European merchants, numerous informants say, have the reputation of being liberal with their employees and other colored persons with whom they do business or who collaborate in their activities: harbor services, transport, transit, navigation. A wealthy, dark mulatto merchant states that his transport enterprise works a great deal for large /48/ foreign firms: "The English are particularly pleasant in that they help their colored employees and promote them to the secretariat of management." They often bring them gifts from Europe, invite them to their clubs, and are happy when some of them speak their language. The German merchants who had very large firms in Bahia in the old days were very good to their colored assistants; they were very jealous of their language, however, and seemed not to like it at all when a Black spoke German. Some European firms honor their employees, even the Blacks, when they complete 20 or 30 years of service and give them bonuses on this occasion. But they do not promote them to important posts, sometimes because of their incompetence. The same thing does not happen with Brazilian firms, which are not accessible to colored people."